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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices they believe it possible to control the

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supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medicines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescriptions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself to his fate. He has worked diligently; he has observed all possible omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag, as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilоko or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciamandá-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ăma-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.

462 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
285 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the
868 work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of
868 the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their
184 tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sáy-ám* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abiik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a free-thinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

"Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕbial*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

[2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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4. *Actual Moral Behavior*

And now I come to the consideration of Isneg practice as compared with theory. I always promise to be brief, but I rarely live up to my promises; so I shall see what I can do about it now.

The Isneg are far less fanatical in matters religious than, for instance, the Kankanay. Their religious practices are also comparatively few and far between, and the women usually play the most important rôle. A person who disobeys (*saûran*) any injunction of the shaman is not considered as being a traitor; he is mostly left to his own devices, although his disobedience is not exactly lauded as an act of virtue. Nevertheless not only the old women, but also the old men are usually very punctual in complying with all directions of the shaman and in observing whatever their religious convictions impose upon them. I purposely say "old" men and women, as among the younger generation, this respect for the heathen practices of their tribe seems to be on the wane. The influence of the schools which are supposed to be neutral, is a decided factor in this matter. The teachers, being Christians, have no sympathy with what they call the superstitions and ridiculous practices of the Isneg. Although perhaps they keep these sentiments to themselves during school hours, the sparseness of the population in a district where schoolboys and schoolgirls very often live far from the schoolhouse, forces many of the latter to remain in the immediate neighborhood of the teacher's house for five consecutive days every week, which necessarily allows the influence of the Christian schoolmaster to be very far-reaching.

Besides, Christians are entering Apayaw in large numbers every year, some to stay, others as transient guests. Since the country is practically pacified, nothing keeps them back any more, and so they also exert an undermining influence on all matters that relate to Isneg religion as such. This immigration coupled with Isneg temporary emigration, tends to teach the people the futility and even the error of their beliefs. Indeed an Isneg who enters the Iloko or Kagayan country, and stays there for a certain time, cannot fail to bring back a spirit of indifference with reference to his native religion.

It may be the place here to say a few words anent the relations of the Isneg with the Catholic missionary. In general it must be said that all over the Mountain Province the priest has usually met with the sympathy of the natives. During the Philippine Revolution against Spain, when Spanish friars were taken into custody by the

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insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages, and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christianity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their traditional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything, except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *ákit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómăn* or betrothal and an *ákit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómăn* takes place at the time a *sáy-ám* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sáy-ám* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgăn*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómăn*. The only reason why an *amómăn* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sáy-ám* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisína* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *básì* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisína* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómăn*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-allây* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *maxamómăn* by that of *maxátáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *ákit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómăn* and the real marriage or *ákit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sáy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *sibud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is *"anito."* Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

773 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and
821 raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of
[771] some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast,
517 *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house.
342 Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get
[704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in
241 the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree
[821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Sicasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglasbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panagatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudoresa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764